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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

Vol. 24—No. 5 SEPTEMBER, 1922 Whole No. 143

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Portrait of a Negro by Peter Paul Rubens, after the engraving by Longhi, in 1801.

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THE CRISIS FOR OCTOBER

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 24. No. 5 SEPTEMBER, 1922 Whole No. 143

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

THE DYER BILL

AFTER resting in the files of the Senate Judiciary Committee since it was passed by the House of Representatives on January 26, the Dyer Bill was reported favorably on July 28 to the Senate. This makes the third great victory achieved in the fight for the bill and removes the last constitutional objection to the measure. So long as the bill was held up by the Judiciary Committee, just so long could individual senators explain or excuse their lack of activity in pushing the bill, on the score of doubt as to its constitutionality. That excuse is now removed. The Judiciary Committees of both the House and the Senate, the Attorney-General of the United States, and many of the most eminent and able constitutional lawyers of both houses of Congress have declared the bill constitutional.

Some of the most eminent jurists of the country, including nineteen justices of supreme and superior courts of the various states, two former United States attorneys-general, a judge of the United States Circuit Court, and many others, have signed a memorial to the Senate urging immediate passage of the bill. There can be no honest reason for further delay, for it is true beyond question that the weight of evidence in favor of the constitutionality of the Dyer Bill is far greater than that to the contrary.

Every voter, and especially colored voters, must keep these facts clearly in mind! And, more important, we must keep them clearly in the minds of our senators!

AGAIN, LINCOLN

WE love to think of the Great as flawless. We yearn in our imperfection toward Perfection — sinful, we envisage Righteousness.

As a result of this, no sooner does a great man die than we begin to whitewash him. We seek to forget all that was small and mean and unpleasant and remember the fine and brave and good. We slur over and explain away his inconsistencies and at last there begins to appear, not the real man, but the tradition of the man —remote, immense, perfect, cold and dead!

This sort of falsehood appeals to some folk. They want to dream their heroes true; they want their heroes all heroic with no feet of clay; and they are astonished, angered, hurt if some one speaks the grim, forgotten truth. They can see but one motive for such digging up of filth, for such evil speaking of the dead—and that is prurient love of evil.

Thus many of my readers were hurt by what I said of Lincoln in the July CRISIS.

I am sorry to hurt them, for some of them were tried friends of me and my cause—particularly one like the veteran, wounded at Chickamauga and a staunch defender of our rights, who thinks my words "unkind and uncalled for."

First and foremost, there comes a question of fact. Was what I said true or false? This I shall not argue. Any good library will supply the books, and let each interested reader judge. Only they should remember that, as one of my naive critics writes, "I know that there are among his early biographers those who say something to the same effect"; but against these he marshalls the later words of those who want to forget. I leave the matter there. If my facts were false, my words were wrong—but were my facts false?

Beyond this, there is another and deeper question on which most of my critics dwell. They say, What is the use of recalling evil? What good will it do? or as one phrases, "Is this proper food for your people"? I think it is.

Abraham Lincoln was perhaps the greatest figure of the nineteenth century. Certainly of the five masters, — Napoleon, Bismarck, Victoria, Browning and Lincoln, Lincoln is to me the most human and lovable. And I love him not because he was perfect but because he was not and yet triumphed. The world is full of illegitimate children. The world is full of folk whose taste was educated in the gutter. The world is full of people born hating and despising their fellows. To these I love to say: See this man. He was one of you and yet he became Abraham Lincoln.

Some may prefer to believe (as one correspondent intimates) that he was of Mayflower ancestry through the "Lincolns of Hingham!" Others may refuse to believe his taste in jokes and political maneuvers and list him as an original abolitionist and defender of Negroes. But personally I revere him the more because up out of his contradictions and inconsistencies he fought his way to the pinnacles of earth and his fight was within as well as without. I care more for Lincoln's great toe than for the whole body of the perfect George Washington, of spotless ancestry, who "never told a lie" and never did anything else interesting.

No! I do not love evil as evil; I do not retail foul gossip about either the living or the dead; but I glory in that crucified humanity that can push itself up out of the mud of a miserable, dirty ancestry; who despite the clinging smirch of low tastes and shifty political methods, rose to be a great and good man and the noblest friend of the slave.

Do my colored friends really believe the picture would be fairer and finer if we forgot Lincoln's unfortunate speech at Charleston, Illinois, in 1858? I commend that speech to the editors who have been having hysterics. Abraham Lincoln said:

> I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

This was Lincoln's word in 1858. Five years later he declared that black slaves "are and henceforward shall be free." And in 1864 he was writing to Hahn of Louisiana in favor of Negro suffrage.

The difficulty is that ignorant folk and inexperienced try continually to paint humanity as all good or all evil. Was Lincoln great and good? He was! Well, then, all evil alleged against him are malicious lies, even if they are true.

"Why should you wish to hold up to public gaze those defects of character you claim he possessed, knowing that he wrought so well?"

That is the very reason for telling the Truth. That is the reason for painting Cromwell's mole as it was and not as some artists conceive it ought to have been.

The scars and foibles and contradictions of the Great do not diminish but enhance the worth and meaning of their upward struggle: it was the bloody sweat that proved the human Christ divine; it was his true history and antecedents that proved Abraham Lincoln a Prince of Men.

WE SHUFFLE ALONG

FOR a solid year colored artists have maintained on Broadway, New York, one of the cleanest, tunefulest and cleverest variety shows ever given. The colored comedians, Miller and Lyles, and the composers, Sissle and Blake, staged the play under great difficulties. They searched long for a manager and longer for a theatre and finally found an old disused music hall around a corner and out of the way, ill-furnished and inconvenient; and then they literally made New York and the world come to see and hear in droves for twelve long months. This is heartening—but see the sequel.

We accuse white America of prejudice, and God knows it has aplenty. But worse than the prejudice is the ignorance. White folk hate and discriminate because they do not realize or know. When they do know they become usually honest, sympathetic human souls. Thousands of them were prejudiced against "nigger shows," but when they had a chance to see "Shuffle Along," they applauded generously.

The real devils in America are those who deny the mass of white folk any opportunity of forming real honest judgment concerning Negroes. They stretch a veil of untruth and ignorance and let hate hatch within it. This is true in news gathering, in fiction and in social intercourse. And it is true on the stage.

Except in the City of New York, the people of the United States are only allowed to hear and see such plays as two sets of theatrical Czars permit to be staged in their houses. These monopolists have determined that "Shuffle Along" shall not be permitted to play in their theatres in the United States. One was very frank: "No, you can't play in any of our theatres. We'll take Miller and Lyles and let them write their own comedy, but they must play in a white company. We are not going to have any colored women on the stage." The other company was not so plain but equally firm: "No, the manager has decided not to book you. I do not know the reason"! And this for one of the greatest theatrical successes of the season.

In New York City there are independent theatres and managers, and new and decent plays get a chance. Boston is striving for freedom, and "Shuffle Along" has gone to an independent house there under a very disadvantageous contract. Two attempts to secure independent theatres in Chicago have failed because of threats against the managers by the trust.

The only chance then for "Shuffle Along" would seem to be in England! Thus Monopoly aids Ignorance to manufacture Prejudice. And thus this stupid land shuffles along.

HAITI AND SANTO DOMINGO

THE United States Government has offered the beginnings of freedom to Santo Domingo and still holds Haiti in slavery. The reasons are threefold.

1. Santo Domingo, although most of her citizens are of Negro descent,

ranks as a "white" country because most Dominicans are ashamed of Africa and are encouraging white migration. Men like Senator McCormick of Illinois can be induced to treat such folk "white".

2. Santo Domingo, speaking Spanish, can call on the sympathy of Spanish and Portuguese South America, where our banking interests are seeking broader fields. Our hearts therefore soften strangely to this Pan-American appeal.

3. Santo Domingo is already tied hand and foot by complicated bonded indebtedness to American banks. If one can own the debts of a country with marines to collect them, one need not care who rules the country.

But Haiti is proud of her Negro blood and her hard won freedom and is fighting desperately to escape the tentacles of the National City Bank. Therefore she must be made an example of and bludgeoned into helplessness by Warren G. Harding who, in 1920, denounced *"a military domination which requires the presence of no less than* 3,000 *of our armed men on that foreign soil"*.

Meantime Messrs. Harding, Hughes, McCormick, *et al*, seeking a sop for voting Negroes, are proposing to place a Negro attaché in the American Legation at Haiti.

With or without power, Gracious Gentlemen, and what kind of power?

Do you really think you can fool Negro voters with a helpless American Negro figurehead at Port-au-Prince? Of course Senator McCormick, with his cynical contempt for black folk, probably figures that he can.

THE AMERICAN LEGION

NO doubt you are informed that The American Legion Convention will be held in New Orleans, in October, 1922.

I wish to ask that you kindly give the enclosed card wide publicity through your issues for a reasonable length of time. I am desirous of getting in touch with every colored delegate to the American Legion Convention in October at New Orleans, La., and am asking the assistance of all.

It is needless to state that there is no post of colored veterans in New Orleans and the colored veterans are not permitted in white posts, so we desire to use all energy possible to obtain a charter at this convention.

We also desire to extend to our comrades a hearty welcome despite the fact that we have no organization, and see to it that they enjoy the good old southern hospitality.

THE CARD

All colored delegates to the AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION at New Orleans, in October, are kindly asked to communicate with Lt. A. A. B. Chatters, O. R., 4836 Coliseum St., New Orleans, La. Thanks.

FLIPPER

IN 1882 the Army got rid of a colored lieutenant, H. O. Flipper, by accusing him of irregularities in his accounts. From that time until this those who have known the facts have been convinced that Mr. Flipper was the victim of injustice and prejudice. For over thirty years, Mr. Flipper has asked for justice and at the same time pursued his work as a useful American citizen until he now occupies a position of trust under the Secretary of the Interior. An exhaustive brief has been prepared and the matter laid before Congress in the shape of a petition for redress of grievances and the restoration of Mr. Flipper to a proper rank in the army. We trust that belated justice may be done in this well-known case.

CHILDREN'S NUMBER

THE October CRISIS, *published September 20, will be our annual Children's number. Photographs are desired and must reach us not later than August 25. No photographs can be returned.*

JULIUS ROSENWALD AND THE NEGRO

卐 卐

JULIUS Rosenwald for 12 years has been helping city Negroes, secure Y. M. C. A. buildings and country Negroes, schoolhouses. Stimulated by his sympathy and offers of money white and colored people working side by side have provided fourteen "Y" buildings. These cost $2,170,000 and serve a Negro urban population of 1,000,000. Colored and white people in co-operation have provided also 1400 schoolhouses requiring 3,500 teachers in the rural districts of fourteen Southern States. These schools cost about $5,000,000.

While the bulk of Mr. Rosenwald's contribution to the "Y" and school work was his inspiration and encouragement of others, in the measurable form of cash he gave $1,350,000 or about 19% of the total of more than $7,000,000 thus far expended.

This great movement in behalf of a race has only begun. The "Y" and the schoolhouse campaigns are still going on, the latter in increasing volume.

JULIUS ROSENWALD

THE Y. M. C. A. MOVEMENT

MR. ROSENWALD'S offer in 1910 to help get "Y" buildings for Negroes was stimulated by an appealing need and by a belief that the money-raising campaigns, with white and colored men working in the same cause, would tend to promote friendly understanding and lessen race prejudice and hatred. Mr. Rosenwald desired to help bring about, as he said at the dedication of the Chicago building in 1913, "a universal acceptance that it is the individual and not the race that counts." He believed every community with a large colored population should have a center for wholesome recreation including dormitory and restaurant facilities. Colored people alone were not able to provide such institutions. He felt it was the duty of white people, "irrespective of their religious beliefs," to assist. He offered $25,000 to any city in the United States that would raise by popular subscription at least $75,000 additional.

The offer was made through the Y. M. C. A. so that a permanent organization would direct and oversee the campaigns and construction and by advice gained from experience guide the activities and maintenance of the buildings.

The money-raising campaigns were conducted under the direction of Mr. L. Wilber Messer and Mr. W. J. Parker, General Secretary and Business Manager, respectively, of the Chicago Y. M. C. A. They gave much of their time. Their only recompense was satisfaction from a good service. Dr. J. E. Moorland, Senior Secretary Colored Department International Committee Y. M. C. A., was their active executive officer in the field. White and black people worked in earnest eagerness giving and raising the necessary funds. By 1920 thirteen buildings had been provided, all but one (in Pittsburg) completed. For good measure, a fourteenth building outside the limits of Mr. Rosenwald's offer, but for which he contributed $25,000, had been completed in New York City for colored women and girls. The cities securing buildings are:

Atlanta	Cincinnati	New York
Baltimore	Columbus	Philadelphia
Brooklyn	Indianapolis	Pittsburgh
Chicago	Kansas City	St. Louis
	Washington	

Y. M. C. A. SECRETARIES AND CHAIRMEN

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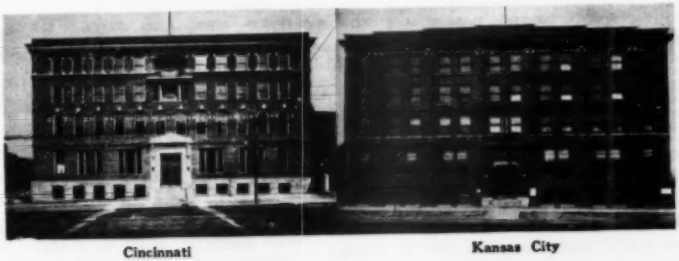
Dr. H. E. Young	Dr. W. A. Method	William Stevenson	David L. Jones
Thomas E. Taylor	S. S. Booker	W. J. Trent	F. A. Harris
Henry W. Porter	F. E. De Frantz	T. Spotuas Burwell	A. W. Hardy



Cincinnati

Kansas City

Philadelphia

Atlanta

New York

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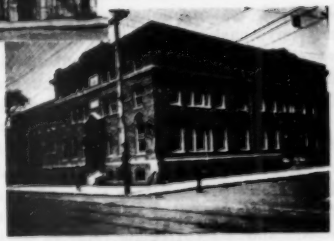

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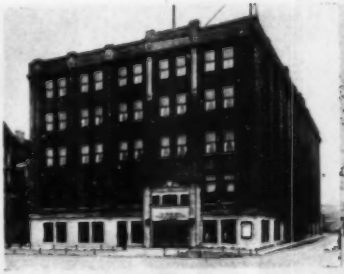


Chicago

St. Louis

NINE ROSENWALD Y. M. C. A. BUILDINGS

NEGRO Y. M. C. A.'S FOR COLORED MEN AND BOYS

City	Local Name	Chairman	Ex. Secretary	Total Cost
Atlanta	Colored Men's Br.	Wm. Driskell	W. J. Trent	$132,223
Baltimore	Druid Hill Ave.	H. E. Young	Simeon S. Booker	117,400
Brooklyn	Carlton Ave.	E. H. Wilson	Rufus E. Meroney	221,600
Chicago	Wabash Ave.	Wm. Francis	Geo. R. Arthur	198,979
Cincinnati	Ninth Street	W. T. Nelson	B. W. Overton	112,319
Columbus	Spring Street	W. A. Method	Nimrod B. Allen	153,800
Indianapolis	Colored Men's Br.	F. B. Ransom	F. E. DeFrantz	105,000
Kansas City	Paseo Dept.	J. E. Perry, M.D.	G. A. Gregg	104,014
New York	W. 135th St.	H. C. Parker	Thos. E. Taylor	373,541
Philadelphia	South West Bldg.	Dr. T. S. Burwell	Henry W. Porter	111,884
Pittsburgh	Center Avenue	H. Anderson	S. R. Morsell	225,000
St. Louis	Pine Street	F. L. Williams	David D. Jones	200,000
Washington	Twelfth Street	Benj. Washington	Wm. Stevenson	114,601
				$2,170,361

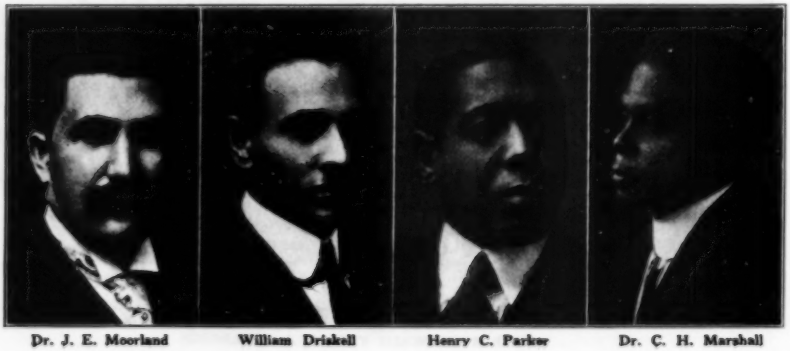
Of the total expenditure of $2,170,000 (an average of about $167,000 for each building) Mr. Rosenwald paid $325,000 or 15%. Other white friends gave 51%, colored 14% and property previously owned and used in the new work amounted to 20%. These figures exclude the New York building for women and girls because the several divisions of the cost are not available.

In the design of the "Y" buildings all the successful experience of the Association has been utilized. They equal in size, quality and variety of equipment, buildings which are erected to serve a white population of similar size. There are lobbies and lounging rooms; reading, study and correspondence rooms; billiard tables; bowling alleys; club rooms; restaurant with private dining rooms; gymnasiums; swimming pools and shower baths. Each building contains dormitories, housing from fifty to two hundred.

This equipment permits men and boys to use their leisure hours in ways which are pleasant and attractive, while at the same time contributing to physical, mental and moral welfare.

The Chairman of the Committees of Management and Executive Secretaries of the thirteen buildings for men and boys that are now in operation (Pittsburgh not yet in its new building) are named above.

With the ten-year campaign completed other cities desired buildings. The war time migration of Southern Negroes to Northern industrial centers caused changed conditions which led Mr. Rosenwald in 1920 to make a second offer, also through the Y. M. C. A. He proposed on July 6th to give $25,000 to any city that would raise not less than $125,000 additional, the increased amount being necessitated by rising building costs. This offer specified that each building must contain separate quarters for men and boys, standard gymnasium, swimming pool, class and club rooms, restaurant and not fewer than fifty dormitory rooms. Several cities had expressed a desire to secure buildings, but owing to excessive construction costs and adverse business conditions no city has so far met the condition. The cities whose interest influenced Mr. Rosenwald to make the second offer are Akron, O.; Dayton, O.; Detroit; Jersey City; Augusta, Ga.; Montclair, N. J.; Atlantic City; Orange, N. J.; Los Angeles; Nashville and Chicago for a



Dr. J. E. Moorland | William Driskell | Henry C. Parker | Dr. C. H. Marshall

second building. Some of these cities already have secured building sites.

By request Mr. Rosenwald extended his offer to include another building for colored women and girls, this one in Philadelphia. Construction on it has already begun.

Mr. Messer, in commenting on the building project, said:

"The practical results which have followed the erection of these buildings have far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of Y. M. C. A. leaders. The spirit of universal brotherhood which characterizes the giver through these benefactions has been extended not only throughout the nations but throughout the world. Co-operative relations have been established between the white and colored population in the joint effort to secure funds for these buildings and by the co-operative, administrative and Association activities' relations between the two races. To use the words of one Association leader: 'Being a semi-southern city, we have been pleasantly surprised at the perfect cordiality, absence of racial differences, and helpful relationship between the directors, committeemen and employed officers of the city Association and of the branch for colored men and boys.' The Association in most of these cities has thus been able to pioneer organic and co-operative relationships between the races. . . .

"The prophecy of George Foster Peabody has been fulfilled, who in sending congratulations to the Chicago Association in 1911 with reference to the Rosenwald financial offer, said: 'I am confident from long experience that few investments will be more helpful to the needy and worthy Negro and to our country than well equipped Association branches. Mr. Rosenwald has done a great public service.'"

At the dedication of the Chicago building in 1913 Mr. N. W. Harris, the Chicago banker, since deceased, one of the large donors to that enterprise, said:

"Mr. Rosenwald's gift will stimulate the race throughout the country. It will furnish many centers from which will radiate not only fresh hope but powerful educative and uplifting forces. I do not hesitate to say that Mr. Rosenwald's gift will prove to be the most important benefaction the colored race has received since the Emancipation Proclamation."

THE RURAL SCHOOL MOVEMENT

DURING the last eight years fourteen hundred "Rosenwald Schools" for Negroes have been built in rural districts of fourteen Southern States.

These represent a total investment of nearly five million dollars. Nine hundred of the schools are of the one or two-teacher type, built at relatively small average outlay. But fifty of them cost $10,000 or more apiece, in one case the expenditure being $104,000.

As now administered each school is located upon a good-sized plot of ground, the minimum requirement being two acres. The title to each piece of property is vested in the public. Each building has been constructed according to a definite plan suited to the site and particularly taking into consideration correct lighting. Each has been painted or stained outside and in. Each project has had the co-operation of four factors, the Negroes, their white neighbors and friends, public funds, town, county or state, and Mr. Rosenwald.

Construction in each State is under the general direction of the State Department of Public Education. Each co-operating State has a State Agent for Negro schools. In eight States there is also a State Building Agent whose entire time is given to this work. One state, in addition, has a special supervisor of Rosenwald Schools. Each building is inspected and approved by State officials before an allotment is made by The Julius Rosenwald Fund.

A fundamental condition of aid, from the beginning, has been that the Negroes, either by themselves, from white friends or from public funds, should provide an amount equal to, or larger than, that furnished by Mr. Rosenwald. As the plan has worked out, the Negroes have raised $1,250,000; interested white people have contributed directly $300.000 and, indirectly, have co-operated in public expenditures of $2,175,000; and Mr. Rosenwald has given $1,000,000.

This notable educational movement grew out of the thought of Dr. Booker T. Washington. One of his earliest convictions was that the Negro rural schools must be improved. An entirely unexpected benefaction opened the way to him to enlist the co-operation of Mr. Rosenwald toward this end. Before his death he was privileged to

see some of his dreams about these schools come true.

On August 12, 1912, Mr. Rosenwald celebrated his fiftieth birthday. He commemorated the event by gifts to various causes aggregating $687,000. Of this amount he gave Dr. Washington $25,000, to be apportioned among such offshoots of Tuskegee Institute as the latter might select. A distribution being made, Dr. Washington sought and obtained permission from Mr. Rosenwald to use a balance of $2,100 in an experiment in school building in six Negro rural communities of Alabama. An offer was made to each neighborhood of three hundred dollars for a schoolhouse, on condition that at least as much more be raised locally. The result was great enthusiasm, the securing from patrons and friends of the equivalent of $3,500 in cash, labor or material, the participation of the State of Alabama as a contributor, and the construction of six schoolhouses at a total cost of about $5,500.

The success of this experiment as an illustration of the possibilities of community co-operation, taken in connection with the enthusiastic response of the Negroes in the Y. M. C. A. campaign, led Mr. Rosenwald to offer similar aid toward the building of a hundred additional schoolhouses; then a second hundred, and a third; then three hundred at a time; and, finally, to put his contributions to this cause upon the basis of a yearly budget involving more than half a million dollars from him.

At first the administration of this aid was in charge of the Extension Division of Tuskegee Institute, under the general charge of Prof. C. J. Calloway, who had been active in a project for the improvement of rural school conditions among the Negroes of Macon County.

It was not long until the movement spread beyond the borders of Alabama where it originated. State after state made application for Rosenwald aid until the territory covered by school building projects included that of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

After the creation of The Julius Rosenwald Fund, in view of the widening of the scope of the undertaking, both as to area of operations and amount of money expended, it seemed on the whole desirable to establish a central office of administration. After conference with various leaders of educational movements in the South, such an office was opened at Nashville, Tennessee, and put in charge of Mr. S. L. Smith, who had been engaged for a number of years as a State Agent for Negro schools in Tennessee.

In 1919 a survey was made by Prof. F. B. Dresslar, of the Peabody College for Teachers, of about fifty school buildings which had been constructed in twenty counties in six states. This critical inspection showed that many of the schools were lacking in important particulars. Some had been built without proper window arrangement causing insufficient lighting and some were badly located as to drainage. Other faults noted made it clear that there was a need for detailed plans and specifications to be used by builders.

As the result of Dr. Dresslar's recommendations, a series of such plans was prepared and published. For each teacher type of building two plans were drawn, one for a building designed to face east or west only, the other, north or south only. These plans immediately became popular, despite the fact that in some communities it was difficult to find men who knew how to read blue prints. A gratifying result was that they were also sought by the trustees of schools for whites, and, in a number of instances, were adopted, practically unchanged, as the plans of State or county for all rural schoolhouse construction.

The idea first was to build one teacher or two teacher schools. But early in the progress of the movement the tendency toward consolidation was noticed. Where two or three communities combined their efforts, they were able to secure a better building and get better equipment. In some cases the length of the school term was increased. The result was that a better class of teachers was attracted. Indeed, almost from the beginning the Rosenwald schools, because of their superiority, were preferred by teachers. Where a consolidated school was located near a village of some size, it was possible to combine the forces of town and country with satisfactory results.

The need of training teachers was foreseen, the Jeanes and Slater Funds helping

Lawrence County, Mississippi

Henry County, Tennessee

Gloucester County, Virginia

Monroe County, North Carolina

ROSENWALD RURAL SCHOOLS

The Old The New

in one way or another to promote such training. To encourage the Rosenwald teachers, there were provisions for their instruction at Tuskegee and a few selected ones were sent to Hampton. Throughout the South the zeal for personal improvement has so increased among the Negro teachers that the summer schools everywhere are crowded with eager youth.

Some interesting social accompaniments of the new schoolhouses have been observed. People have moved into a neighborhood to be near the school. In many places new dwelling houses have been built in the vicinity. These two reflect the spirit of improvement since, almost without exception, they are being painted and cared for more than was previously customary. Longer time residents have freshened up their homes. The nearby churches have been painted and have secured better equipment to harmonize with the modern school desks and blackboards in which each new school takes such pride.

All of these things have contributed toward the encouragement of the community center idea. One of the notions which has been industriously urged by the school agents has been that the building should be used as much as possible. The result is that it has become a real center of the community life, furnishing a meeting place for clubs of various kinds, lodges and other organizations.

The spirit of co-operation thus developed, taken in connection with the friendly attitude of the white people, has had a marked influence in producing better race relations in a great many places in the South.

Commenting upon this work, whose progress he has carefully watched from the beginning, Dr. Wallace Buttrick, President of the General Education Board, says:

"The contributions of Mr. Julius Rosenwald toward the construction of rural school buildings for Negroes have been one of the great factors in the development of rural schools for the race. His spirit in doing this work, and the method which he has adopted have both contributed to the success of the plan. His spirit at once awakened the sympathetic interest of the white people and inspired the colored people."

Many Negro leaders have recorded their impressions of these two movements. "The work cannot be estimated in figures or words," is the favoring comment of Secretary James Weldon Johnson of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Dr. Carter G. Woodson recognizes "a constructive program founded upon sound policy." Hon. J. C. Napier watches developments "with great interest and much satisfaction," and Mrs. Mary B. Talbert praises "wonderful gifts" which show "loyalty to an oppressed race and a desire to erase the many handicaps which we necessarily have, having been so short a time out of bondage."

THE BLACK STAR LINE

W. E. B. DuBois

THE main economic venture of Marcus Garvey was the Black Star Line.

This steamship venture was the foundation stone of Garvey's rise to popularity among Negroes. African migration is a century old and a pretty thoroughly discredited dream. Autonomous African Negro States have been forecast by scores of Negro leaders and writers. But a definite plan to unite Negrodom by a line of steamships was a brilliant suggestion and Garvey's only original contribution to the race problem. But, asked the critic, can it be done? Has Garvey the business sense, can he raise the capital, can he gather the men?

The answer lies in the history of the Black Star fleet. The *Yarmouth* was a steamer of 1,452 gross tons, built in 1887. The Black Star Line bought this boat in 1919 and in its report for the year 1920, it was put down as worth $178,156.36. At the Orr trial, Garvey swore under oath that he paid $140,000 cash for it. We will tell the rest of this story in Garvey's own words*:

We contracted to bring a carload of whis-

*Orr, a stockholder, sued Garvey. The following extracts are from a certified copy of the sworn testimony at this trial.

key valued at five million dollars and the ship, in sailing out between here and Sandy Hook, was caught in a gale and was damaged badly and put back into port, and there were several raids on the whiskey; when it came back, Prohibition was in effect; the ship was raided several times, whiskey was stolen; we had a great deal of trouble with the Federal Government, costing us thousands of dollars; ultimately the ship was repaired in Cuba; we experienced a tie-up of two months with this cargo of whiskey with a crew of over fifty men and we experienced some trouble in Cuba in handling the whiskey; when she did clear from Cuba, she went to the West Indies and also had an accident there and returned, and we lost on that trip from 250 to 300 thousand dollars, and on another trip we lost about 75 thousand dollars; there were extensive repairs done on the boat, and even against our instructions because the captain of the boat did things on his own account, and we were held liable for it.

Q. What did you mean by testifying you lost about a quarter of a million dollars on that cargo? A. Because we had to pay the cost of the undelivered cargo; we had to pay the cost of the repairs of the boat.

THE COURT: You had to pay for what disappeared?

A. Yes.

Q. Did all of that cargo disappear, or a few cases?

A. Part of the cargo.

Q. Do you mean for the Court to understand that you, at the head of a corporation that had a load of whiskey on their boat, that because it was destroyed or confiscated, you had to pay for it, is that what you want the Court to believe? A. We had to pay for the cargo that was not delivered for which we contracted to deliver.

Q. Did you insure the cargo? A. No, I did not.

Q. You mean for the Court to believe you had to pay for the cargo of whiskey?

THE COURT: That is what he said.

On another voyage, Luc Dorsinville, who claimed to have been Haitian agent of the line, stated that it took the *Yarmouth* three months to make a single voyage between New York, Cuba, Haiti and Jamaica; that the voyage cost between fifteen and twenty thousand dollars and that at the end of the three months the cargo did not pay half the cost. This agent claims that he had 77 passengers booked for passage and a cargo of freight, but the boat was so dirty that most of the people would not take passage. He said that he sold 27 passages beside paying many bills for the ship. Nevertheless, the ship went to Jamaica instead of New York and left the agent to settle the claims for passage money paid and other matters. There was a good deal of controversy as to just who was to blame for all this and why the *Yarmouth* did not return to ship the cargo worth over $30,000 which the agent claims was waiting for her.

Of the staggering losses on the *Yarmouth* no hint appears in Mr. Garvey's glowing speeches concerning the Black Star Line, or in the advertisements in the *Negro World*, or even in the first annual financial report issued in 1920—July 26. No losses whatsoever are recorded there. The *Yarmouth* is entered at full value and an organization expense of $289,066.27 is put down as an asset because it is an "organization expense." It was also recorded: "We have much to be thankful for in that no unfortunate accident has befallen us!"

The *Yarmouth* made three trips to the West Indies in three years. It was then docked for repairs. This bill was apparently not paid, for the *Nauticus* announced, October 15, 1921, an attachment against the Black Star Line for $20,285.57 by the National Dry Dock and Repair Company.* This was presumably for unpaid repairs on the *Yarmouth*, although it may have applied to other boats also. At any rate, in the *Nauticus* of December 10, 1921, appears this obituary of the first boat of the Black Star Line:

Yarmouth (S.S.) 1452 tons gross 725 net, built at Dumbarton 1887 and owned by the B. S. L., N. Y., was sold by U. S. Marshall as she lay at the National Dry Dock, N. Y., December 2 [1921], to Frederic Townsend, c/o Walter Welsh, 32 Broadway, for $1,625.**

The *Kanawha* or *Antonio Maceo* was listed in the Black Star report as worth $75,359.01. Garvey swore that he paid $60,000 for it. It was apparently bought to do a small carrying trade between the West Indian Islands. The *Kanawha* left New York about Easter time 1921 and sailed for Cuba and the West Indies. Garvey testified that she with another ship "was repaired in drydock and sailed from here; she broke down between Cuba and the Virginia Coast and we had to tow her back to New York. We had to spend seventy or eighty thousand dollars on that boat." The *Negro World* announced

**A judgment of $526.70 was also obtained by the Garcia Sugar Corporation.*

***In addition to this sum the buyer probably had to pay the attachment noted above, making the total selling price of the ship at auction $21,910.57.*

that this boat "arrived in Cuba in a blaze of glory, April 16."

According to the New York *Evening World*, the boat was held up in Cuba because of boiler troubles, although several thousand dollars had been recently spent on new boilers. Finally she was tied up in Santiago de Cuba and the United States Government brought the crew back. The boat itself has never reappeared.

The *Shadyside* was listed by the Black Star Line as worth $35,000. It did a small excursion business up the Hudson during one summer.

In March, 1921, the *Shadyside* lay on the beach beside North River at the foot of 157th Street and was in a hopeless condition, quite beyond repair.

Thus the three first boats of the Garvey fleet disappeared and if the Black Star's own figures and Mr. Garvey's statements of losses are true, this involves a total disappearance of at least $630,000 of the hard-earned savings of colored folk.

But this is not all.

On Sunday night, April 10, according to the *Negro World* of April 16, 1921:

Unexpectedly, like a bolt of lightning, came the announcement at Liberty Hall tonight that the Black Star Line Steamship Corporation expected by May 1, next, to float the *Phyllis Wheatley*, its latest addition to the corporation's line of steamships to engage in transportation between this country and Africa. The news was hailed with wild expressions of joy and delight by the immense audience that filled the great hall.

The ship was said to carry 4,500 tons of cargo and 2,000 passengers, was equipped with electric lights, fans, music and smoking rooms and refrigerating machinery.*

Already, as early as January, 1921, Black Star Line sailings for Liberia, West Africa, had been given display advertising in the *Negro World*. They were announced for "on or about the 27th of March, 1921, at 3 P.M." Beginning in April and continuing for seven or more months, there appeared advertisements announcing "passengers and freight" for the West Indies and West Africa by the S.S. *Phyllis Wheatley*, "sailing on or about April 25" or without definite date.

When the delegates came to the convention August 1, they naturally asked to see the *Phyllis Wheatley*, but a delegate, Noah Thompson, says in the California *New Age* of September 23, 1921:

None of the boasted ships were shown the delegates, who were daily promised that on "tomorrow" the ships would be shown. Mr. Thompson said that he was in New York thirty-five days, and with others persisted in demanding to be shown the ships, but was told daily that they could see the ships "tomorrow," and "later," but "tomorrow" never came.

September 30, 1921, Mr. Garvey defended himself, declaring:

It was announced before the convention adjourned, that the United States Shipping Board had awarded the S.S. *Orion* to the Black Star Line, Inc., the ship for which we are to pay $250,000 and on which we have a deposit of $25,000.

Finally the truth came out. In an editorial in the *Negro World*, February 18, 1922, Mr. Garvey alleges:

A "group" have robbed the Black Star Line and desires to cover up their robbery, in that within recent months a thorough investigation has been started to find out what has been done in the matter of over $25,000 which is said to be deposited with the United States Shipping Board for the purchase of a ship, and the continuous deception of the said parties in promising the president of the Black Star Line, the Board of Directors and stockholders, that a ship by the name of the S.S. *Orion*, which should have been named the S.S. *Phyllis Wheatley*,

BLACK STAR LINE

PASSENGERS AND FREIGHT

FOR

HAVANA,
SANTO DOMINGO
St. KITTS, DOMINICA,
BARBADOS,
TRINIDAD,
DEMERARA,
DAKAR SECONDEE,
MONROVIA, AFRICA

By the S. S. "PHYLLIS WHEATLEY"

BOOK YOUR PASSAGE NOW

SPACE IS LIMITED

BLACK STAR LINE, Inc.

54-56 West 135th Street, New York City

TRAFFIC DEPARTMENT

ADVERTISEMENT IN THE "NEGRO WORLD" OCT. 22, 1921.

*In the Orr trial.

should have been delivered since April of 1921 and is not yet delivered up to the time of writing, and for which over a thousand and one excuses have been given.

Moreover, Mr. Garvey virtually acknowledged that the Black Star Line after collecting nearly three-quarters of a million dollars did not have in 1921 enough money to deposit $25,000 on the new ship, but said that part of the purchase money of the ship was to be raised in America and that he went to the West Indies to raise the balance. No sooner had Mr. Garvey left, however, than, as he alleges:

Certain parties who assumed the active management of affairs of the Black Star Line in the United States planned, in conjunction with others, that I should never return to America, and that during my absence from the country, plunderings of all kinds would have been indulged in. . . .

Changes were made in the plans that were laid out for the acquirements of the African boat; new arrangements were made, contracts were signed and for four months, whilst all these changes had been going on, not even a word of information was sent to me to acquaint me of what was being done.

The S.S. *Phyllis Wheatley* that should have been secured since April, and which I had every reason to believe was either at anchor in New York, or had sailed for Africa, was nowhere to be found!

Finally Mr. Garvey concludes:

Patience dragged on and on, until I took definite steps to locate either the money or the ship, and then to my surprise where $25,000 should have been only $12,500 was credited.

In other words, Mr. Garvey says that officials of the Black Star Line, whom he is careful not to name, stole so much of the deposit money that the *Phyllis Wheatley* could not be secured for the line!

Just when Mr. Garvey made this astonishing discovery, we are not informed; but after he returned to America in July, the sailing of the *Phyllis Wheatley* continued to be advertised until October and tickets offered for sale. As a result, Mr. Garvey and three of his chief officials were indicted by the Grand Jury of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York, for "using the mails in furtherance of a scheme to defraud and conspiring so to do."

Several states questioned the honesty of the corporation and refused to let Mr. Garvey sell stock. In the city of Chicago, he was convicted of violating the Illinois Stock Law and fined one hundred dollars. In Virginia, John A. George was sent to jail for selling stock after the Corporation Commission had investigated the scheme through Pinkerton detectives. This was in February, 1921.

What excuses does Mr. Garvey offer for his failure? His excuses are various and extraordinary. *First* and perhaps the most astonishing is the following statement in the *Negro World* of January 21, 1922:

All the troubles we have had on our ships have been caused because men were paid to make this trouble by certain organizations calling themselves Negro Advancement Associations. They paid men to dismantle our machinery and otherwise damage it so as to bring about the downfall of the movement.

Secondly, Mr. Garvey alleges gigantic "conspiracies." He said, as reported in the *Negro World*, May 13, 1922, at Liberty Hall:

Millions of dollars were expended in the shipping industries to boycott and put out of existence the Black Star Line.

In the *Negro World* of January 28, 1922, he adds:

The matter of my arrest last week for the alleged fraudulent use of the mails is but a concoction decided upon by the unseen forces operating against us to find some criminal excuse by which the promoter of the greatest movement among Negroes could be held up to world scorn and ridicule, thereby exposing the movement to contempt. It is a mean, low-down, contemptible method of embarrassing any movement for human uplift.

He also says that "Bolshevists" are paying for attacks on the line. (*Negro World*, December 14, 1921.)

Thirdly and chiefly, Mr. Garvey accuses his associates and employees of dishonesty. In the *Negro World* of February 18, 1922, Mr. Garvey writes of a "treacherous plot" against him and a "great state of demoralization" in the Black Star Line during his absence, and of "the tricks and dishonesty of a few employees of the Black Star Line."

In the *Negro World* of December 24, 1921. he says:

Through the dishonesty of some of the "so-called educated," Garvey has had to suffer many reverses. Business transactions and financial arrangements which Garvey was too busy to attend to himself and left to others opened the door for several of these "so-called educated" (whom he trusted to represent him) to rob and cheat the organization, and thus make it harder for Garvey to protect and represent the interests of the people.

As often as found out the "so-called educated" tramps and villains have been kicked out of the organization. Several of them have formed new organizations, started

newspapers and journals. And some of the organizations, newspapers and journals, after collecting a few thousand dollars from the poor, innocent people, have gone out of existence; but the villains still hover around, connecting themselves with other papers and organizations that keep up a fight against the Universal Negro Improvement Association and Garvey.

Observe carefully the composition of any anti-Garvey organization or paper and you will find there a congregation of dismissed, disgraced and so-called resigned employees of either the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the *Negro World* or the Black Star Line Corporation. All birds of a feather flock together. All villains keep together.

In the *Negro World* of July 8, 1922, he writes:

No head of any steamship company can guarantee what will be the action of the captain of one of his ships when he clears port. If a captain wants to sell or confiscate your goods; if a captain wants to pile up debts on a steamship company for his own selfish profit, what can the president of that corporation do, especially when the individual may be in league with some powers that be, and especially the only powers that could punish him if he creates a criminal offense against the corporation? . . .

What can Marcus Garvey do if men are employed to do their work and they prove to be dishonest and dishonorable in the performance of that work? What could Jesus do dealing with a dishonest man but to wait and punish him at His judgment? And judgment is not just now. What will happen in the meanwhile—Jesus would be robbed.

Finally, Mr. Garvey alleges his own lack of experience in the shipping business:

Marcus Garvey is not a navigator; he is not a marine engineer; he is not even a good sailor; therefore the individual who would criticize Marcus Garvey for a ship of the Black Star Line not making a success at sea is a fool.—(*Negro World*, July 8, 1922.)

Mr. Garvey consequently writes in the *Negro World* of April 1, 1922, "We have suspended the activities of the Black Star Line."

Here then is the collapse of the only thing in the Garvey movement which was original or promising. Of course, Mr. Garvey promises repayment, reorganization and a "new" Black Star Line.

What are his statements and promises worth? Knowing, as he did, that he had lost $250,000 on a single voyage and $75,000 on another and that his capital had practically disappeared, he declared according to a report in the *Negro World*, March 5, 1921:

Nothing engineered by Negroes within the last 500 years has been as big or as stupendous as the Black Star Line. . . .

Today we control three-quarters of a million dollars (applause); not three-quarters of a million on mere paper, but in property value—money that can be realized in twenty-four hours if the stockholders desire that their money be refunded to them. By a majority vote at any meeting we can sell out the property of the Black Star Line and realize every nickel we have placed in it.

In spite of this, Mr. Garvey made the following statements under oath in the Orr trial:

THE COURT: The people in your community have a great deal of faith in you?

A. Yes, they have.

THE COURT: Any statements you made in 1919 were relied on by the members of your community?

A. Yes.

THE COURT: *You did not paint the possibilities of the Black Star Line in hues of rose color, did you?*

A. *No, I did not; it was still a business proposition like any other business proposition.*—(*Italics ours.*)

Small wonder that at the end of this trial Judge Panken said:

"It seems to me that you have been praying upon the gullibility of your own people, having kept no proper accounts of the money received for investment, being an organization of high finance in which the officers received outrageously high salaries and were permitted to have exorbitant expense accounts for pleasure jaunts throughout the country. I advise these 'dupes' who have contributed to these organizations to go into court and ask for the appointment of a receiver. You should have taken this $600,000 and built a hospital for colored people in this city instead of purchasing a few old boats. There is a form of paranoia which manifests itself in believing oneself to be a great man."

To this let us add this pitiful document from San Diego, Cal., to Noah Thompson:

I am forced to write you, asking if it is wise for a widow-woman who makes her living by working in service and doing day's work, to continue to make the sacrifice by sending $5.00 per month on payment of shares in the Black Star Line.

After reading that part of your report, stating that you and many other delegates were unable to see the ships supposed to be owned by said company, I began to think, maybe I had better keep my hard earnings at home, for I have an aged mother to support and I haven't one penny to throw away. So I am writing you for facts in regard to what I have asked you.

ELLA ROSS HUTSON.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

THE DYER BILL

THE report of the Senate Judiciary Committee on the Dyer Bill fills thirty-two pages and was written by Senator Samuel M. Shortridge of California, who is to lead the fight on the floor of the Senate for the bill. The bulk of the report is given over to the report of the House Judiciary Committee, prepared by Mr. Dyer, and to briefs on the constitutionality of the measure, prepared and submitted by Moorfield Storey, President of the N.A.A.C.P., and by Herbert K. Stockton of New York, of the firm of Haight, Smith, Griffin and Deming, and a member of the Legal Committee of the N.A.A.C.P.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, in reporting the bill, recommends one change from the form as passed by the House. Briefly, this change provides that it shall be charged in the indictment of persons accused of lynching that the State authorities did not exercise sufficient diligence in the apprehension and punishment of the lynchers. The change greatly strengthens the bill and also removes doubt as to its constitutionality.

In rendering its report, the Judiciary Committee made the following strong declaration:

The committee has devoted much time and earnest thought to the consideration of this bill and has reached the conclusion that as amended the bill is constitutional and should pass. That conclusion is reached by different processes of reasoning and by reliance on different provisions of the Constitution; but whatever process of reasoning is adopted or whatever provisions of the Constitution are relied on we hold that the proposed legislation is appropriate legislation to cure or prevent the evil of lynching wherever in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof that evil exists or is committed.

White or black, all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States, and no State may by affirmative legislative, judicial or executive action, or by failure, neglect, or refusal to act, deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

A careful and dispassionate study of the provisions of this bill as amended will, the committee thinks, convince Senators that it is appropriate legislation, within the competency of Congress to enact, to safeguard and protect those rights to life, liberty, and property which are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

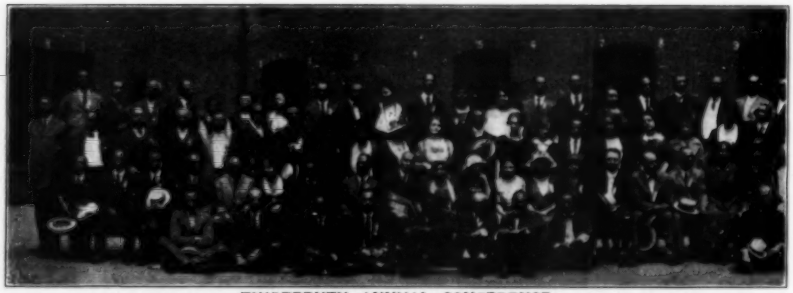
The proposed legislation is not, and should not be considered, in any sense sectional. The evil it is designed to cure is not confined to any particular section or State, North or South, East or West. This monstrous evil, which is a disgrace to the Nation, we should strive to wipe out by a firm and just exercise of every legitimate power conferred upon and residing in the Federal Government.

The proposed legislation is not an invasion or subversion of the rights of the States, nor is it designed to relieve the States from the performance of their duty to secure to all persons within their several jurisdictions equal protection of the laws; on the contrary, the proposed legislation is in aid of the several States and will be impartially administered by the people of the several States.

It is sincerely hoped and confidently believed that the early passage of this bill as amended will have a salutary effect and go far toward insuring that equal protection of the laws, State and Federal, to which all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are entitled.

American citizenship is indeed a badge of honor; it should be and this bill seeks to make it a shield of protection to every American citizen, man, woman and child, native and naturalized, who stands on American soil, hedged round and guarded, as they are, by the Constitution of the United States.

The action of the Judiciary Committee is gratifying for a number of reasons. We have many opponents of the bill. These we know how to answer and to checkmate. But, unfortunately, we have others, some of them colored men and women, who have been rushing into print declaring that the bill had no chance of passage. Let us hope that these persons will now join in the last great effort necessary to put the bill through the Senate.



THIRTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

We are extremely fortunate in having Senator Shortridge chosen to lead the fight for the bill. He is the one member of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary who has all along held the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill to be entirely constitutional. A number of the other Republican members were in favor of the bill and pledged their support, but were doubtful about the constitutionality of certain of its provisions. Senator Shortridge has all along stood one hundred per cent for the bill. Furthermore, Senator Shortridge is a brave fighter. In the discussions which took place in the Committee he never hesitated to meet the stock arguments of the southern members of the Committee with a frontal attack and demolish them. When these southern members put up the subtle argument of white man to white man, that if the Anti-Lynching Bill were enacted it would encourage the crime of rape among Negroes in the South, Senator Shortridge met them with facts and statistics and hammered them into silence.

Moreover, the choice of Senator Shortridge is fortunate in that his heart is in this legislation. Mr. Johnson had a long talk with him immediately after the adjournment of the Committee and believes that the Senator looks forward with great satisfaction to championing this measure on the floor of the Senate.

Three-fourths of the fight is over. Let us all work together as never before that the rest of the distance may be covered before the November elections.

We have one word to say to all those who have loyally worked in this long, hard fight. It likewise applies to those who have not worked. We urge you now to send three telegrams. Send one to each of the two Senators from your State. Send one to Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican Leader of the Senate. In all three telegrams, urge as a citizen and a voter, that the Dyer Bill be brought up at once and voted on. In addition to this, bring all pressure possible by meetings, newspaper publicity and in every possible way that the bill may become a law. One final shove now and the job will be done!

THE ARKANSAS CASES

THE National Office has reprinted with a special introduction the brief prepared by Scipio A. Jones, the Association's attorney, in the appeal to the United States Supreme Court in the cases of six of the men convicted in the Arkansas riots of October, 1919. Mr. Jones' brief is the clearest, most convincing and thrilling story of these important cases that has ever been made. Single copies of the brief can be obtained without cost by application to the National Office. A low cost will be granted on quantity lots. This amazing story of peonage and economic exploitation in the Mississippi Delta ought to be as widely circulated as possible. Every white and colored person in the country should read it. Copies should be placed in the hands of white people who need to know such facts.

SENATOR HIRAM JOHNSON

SENATOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON of California, one of the most powerful figures in Congress, has pledged himself to do whatever lies in his power in behalf of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. In a letter addressed to Walter F. White, Assistant Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., Senator Johnson says:

I duly received your letter of July 14, relating to the Anti-Lynching Bill. I have been in touch with this bill while it has been

N. A. A. C. P., NEWARK, N. J., JUNE 18-23, 1922

pending before the Judiciary Committee. Many questions arose concerning the various provisions of the bill, and the objections in the opinion of the majority of the Judiciary Committee were finally met by amendments, and the bill favorably reported.

In common with you and with all American citizens, I insist upon the enforcement of the law and abhor its violation. There is no worse blot upon our civilization than mob violence and lynching. The bill now presented by the Judiciary Committee meets the evil and endeavors to afford a cure. I am very glad to do what lies in my power in behalf of this measure. I may say to you that just before the bill was reported by the Committee, and when its alleged defects were remedied by amendments, I sent to California, in response to communications from there, a brief statement of my attitude. That statement I enclose to you herein.

The statement referred to by Senator Johnson states:

The Senate Judiciary Committee is about to report the Anti-Lynching Bill with certain amendments designed to cure what were asserted to be constitutional defects. Every law-abiding citizen, of course, abhors lynching, and any remedy for what has been a blot upon our civilization will be gladly welcomed. The present bill as about to be reported to the Senate seems to meet the evil and endeavors to provide a cure. I shall be very glad to render what assistance I can in its passage.

MR. JOHNSON CRITICIZES SENATE REPORT ON HAITI

IN July, Senator Medill McCormick of Illinois, who served as chairman of the Select Committee on Haiti and the Dominican Republic, appointed by the Senate to inquire into the facts of the occupation by American forces of Haiti and San Domingo, forwarded a copy of the report of the Committee to James Weldon Johnson, asking Mr. Johnson to comment on the report. This Mr. Johnson did, pointing out the utter illegality of the seizure of the Haitian Republic by the United States. Mr. Johnson says:

It does not seem to me that we get any farther on the fundamental issue involved either by accusations against the occupation or exonerations of the occupation of charges made. I still feel that the fundamental issue involved is the international and moral right of the United States to usurp, substitute or control the government of any country against the will of the people of that country.

The fact as to whether or not the Haitians were backward, that their government was not entirely stable, does not appear to me to affect this fundamental issue. Moreover, the reasons which we put forth to justify our actions in Haiti could be given with far greater force regarding Mexico, where we have not intervened. Indeed, on the very grounds given for our intervention in Haiti, we have had in the last ten years a hundredfold greater cause for intervention in Mexico.

As I read through the report, in which the shortcomings of the Haitian government and people are rehearsed, I could not help but be impressed by the thought that most of these shortcomings, by a slight change in phraseology, could be charged up against most of the governments and peoples of the world. Most of these shortcomings are common failings of humanity.

Of course, the Haitians are ignorant and primitive and lacking in development but in dealing with them we are up against this truth—the more strong-handed our tutelage over them is, the less capable are they rendered of the self-development which is necessary. For example, I do not believe we can train the Haitians for self-government by taking their government away from them and running it ourselves. Certainly, we can help the Haitians, but no help that we may give them against their will can be actually beneficial. For our work in Haiti to have any vital and permanent effect, we must first of all make the Haitian people as a whole feel that we are there for the good of Haiti and not for our own advantage.

"BATOUALA" IS TRANSLATED*

JESSIE FAUSET

IF the proof of the pudding is the eating, the test of the good novel is its response to translation. And just as the pudding in the last analysis depends less on the cook than on the quality of its ingredients, just so a translation's success lies after all not in the skill or maladroitness of its translator, but in the story inherent in the original.

However if the cook should be good!

Dropping the figure then the Seltzer Publishing Company has turned out a translation of "Batouala" which, barring a few defects, deserves the highest attention. The translator has made no attempt to do a bit of fine writing. On the contrary she has followed very closely the style and almost the arrangement of Maran's narrative and consequently has achieved a result almost as starkly simple and magnificent as the original. That is saying a great deal, for after having read the French of "Batouala" through word for word for the third time I am convinced that it is possessed to an unusual degree of what the French themselves call "the grand style".

Since I have been asked to review this book largely from the standpoint of the technique of translation, that is from the standpoint of making a comparison between the original and the translated novel, I must admit that several small errors occur in the translated version. But let me hasten to add that strangely enough—and I have gone over "Batouala" with the French in one hand and the English in the other—not one of these errors with one possible exception, of which more directly, detracts from the real beauty and spirit of the achievement. The French text reads page 45, *En marchant, il scrutait le sol,*—"as he walked, he scrutinized the ground." The English translation has this: "He looked up at the *sun* as he walked." (English text, p. 53.)

The French word for sun is *soleil*, whereas the word *sol* means ground or soil. What, I am almost sure, caused the difficulty was a momentary confusion on the part of the translator of her French and Latin terms for as every school-boy knows the word *sol* in Latin does mean sun and as French is so directly the offspring of Latin such a mistake was of all the mistakes of the translator the most natural. Even here it would be of probably no consequence were it not for what follows. Maran writes: "He scrutinized the ground as he walked—one of the numerous habits bequeathed him by his parents. The older he grew the more he appreciated their excellence.

"The whites didn't seem to understand the use of knowing where to set one's foot. One cut oneself on stones and slipped in the mud. With a little bit of care one could avoid cuts and falls, at least make them less severe."

Since any novel which deals with the different usages between the races is bound to become a subject for propaganda, the correct translation of a passage such as this has a value far beyond merely grammatical precision.

None of the other errors is of equal seriousness. On page 76, the translator mistakes *je ne me lasserai jamais* (I shall never tire of) for *je ne laisserai jamais* (I shall never allow). On page 80, she translates: "Death strike him who did not notice this costume," whereas the French actually says: "Death strikes him who does not observe this custom", the confusion being between *costume* (dress, costume) and *coutume* (custom). (English text, pp. 88, 93.)

These three errors are really the worst and I am almost loath to mention them, so finely and feelingly done is most of the book.

In English no less than in French "Batouala" is a great story. And the best part of it all is that no attempt is made by its author to bias the reader's mind. Here is the tale of Batouala the African Chief (mokoundji), his nine wives and his rival, Bissibingui for the affections of his favorite wife, Yassiguindja, the death of Batouala and the triumph of the young lover. An old, old story. Here are grave reflections on the part of African "Ancients" about the great phenomena of living, sleep, work, the sun, the moon, fire. Dimly, vaguely we peer back into the first beginnings of the thing

*"Batouala", by René Maran. Published by Thomas Seltzer, New York. Distributed by Minor & Patterson, New York.

we call life and find the primal causes of events. Whence came the custom of keeping a dead body several days before burial? What is the origin of sunstroke?

There is the description, sharp and vivid of the chase, and above all, thing most exotic to our manner both of living and writing, the amazing and terrific description of *Ga'n:a*, the Feast of the Circumcision. In order to get the book past the censor the translator has had to omit here an astonishing phrase, there a too vivid word, but this happens rarely and without such selection those of us who do not read French would have no chance to know the story at all.

But what is bound to arrest the attention of colored Americans is the excoriation by Maran in the preface and by his characters in the novel proper of the white colonial who has entered Africa and who has changed it so sadly. For once, we have at first hand a contrasting picture of two kinds of civilization,—first, that of the little sleepy African village with its tom-tom instead of the "wireless," its sorcerers instead of "doctorros" (doctors), its poverty, its humor, its placid philosophy against the boundless egoism, selfishness and brutality of the white traders, the "*boundjoudoulis.*" Really there is very little to choose.

As well as this translator has managed the spirit of this story in general, she excels especially in passages descriptive of nature and of natural phenomenon. She translates Maran's account of the gift of fire:

"When the dustman comes and closes your eyes, the fire purrs and crackles beside you and gently envelopes you with its meshes of warmth; then, as soon as you are completely relaxed in the benevolent little death of sleep, it carries you off to the country of dreams, whence you return in the morning

"If the fever cramps your body and you shiver in a chill, the fire settles the course of the blood that circulates in the blue cords of your arms, it makes you perspire, it massages your stiffened limbs. It is so soft and gentle, it seems like a healing oil. Gradually your muscles turn supple again; fever, fatigue, chill disappear. What though the rain falls outside!

"If you are lonely and sad and want company, no need to seek far. There's the fire again—good friend, good comrade, *ouandja*, confidant. To sit beside the fire and talk is a feast of warmth; like every good meal it consoles, soothes, and casts a magic delight."

As one reads this translation the spirit of Africa steals over one,—Africa, the land whence always "something new," and yet something ever old, black, mysterious, entransing, impenetrable.

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LINES

MARGARET LORING THOMAS

UP and down the city, there are clothes lines,
Full of clothes,
Washed and blowing in the sun.

All around the world, there are class lines,
Full of horrors,
Hidden from the light.

Some women never wash and iron clothes,
Yet they always have clean clothes.

Some women wash and iron clothes,
Day in and day out.
These women never have clean clothes.
They do not have time to wash their own clothes.

BARTER

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT

ONE took his heart to market
And sold it at a stall;
He could not sell his soul there
Because it was so small.

BEGGAR BOY

LANGSTON HUGHES

WHAT is there within this beggar lad
That I can neither hear nor feel nor see,
That I can neither know nor understand,
And still it calls to me?

Is not he but a shadow in the sun—
A bit of clay, brown, ugly, given life?
And yet he plays upon his flute a wild free tune,
As if Fate had not bled him with her knife!

The Horizon

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON

¶ Colored men in Jersey City, N. J., own and operate three drug stores; William Nolan, a contractor, has done all the mason work for Governor Edwards for six years; Ira D. Olliver, a salesman for men and women's furnishings, represents several large New York firms; Marcia B. Brown is employed as assistant chemist at a medical laboratory.

¶ Dr. D. D. Hall has been granted the Certificate in Public Health by Harvard University. He is a graduate of Howard University and has been practicing in Massachusetts for ten years.

¶ As a means of combatting prejudice and ignorance, the class in Race Problems at Ohio State University was conducted through a part of the Negro section of Columbus. Office buildings, stores, a new motion-picture theatre, a school, churches, the Y. M. C. A., the old folks' home, the day nursery and Alpha Hospital were among the places visited. The students were especially impressed by the equipment and personnel of the hospital and the attractiveness of the homes, which were hospitably opened to them. During the course of the term, the class was addressed by Dr. Woodlin, vice-president of the Columbus Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., Mr. N. B. Allen, executive secretary of the local Urban League, Judge E. B. Kinkead of the Court of Common Pleas, Dr. W. W. Alexander of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Dr. George E. Haynes and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

¶ W. T. Greene is a photographer and art dealer in Muskogee, Okla. He conducts two shops, one of which appears in the photograph.

ONE OF MR. GREENE'S SHOPS

PRINCE HALL MASONIC TEMPLE

¶ The colored Masons of Massachusetts have a new Prince Hall Masonic Temple valued at $150,000. The final payment on it was made last February and the mortgage burned. Dr. I. L. Roberts is Grand Master and was the leading spirit in securing and paying for the temple within two years. Ernest D. Cook was Grand Secretary. The Prince Hall Grand Lodge is 113 years old.

¶ The second of a series of recitals has been held at Trinity A. M. E. Church in Baltimore. The program included violin numbers from "Thais", "La Tosca", and "Pagliacci", by Harry Truman Pratt; "Nautilus", "A Passing Thought", and "In the Bottoms" Suite, by Ada Louise Killion, pianiste; W. Llewellyn Wilson was the accompanist.

¶ Henry N. Stone, who was granted the degree of *Bachelor of Arts* at the University of Kansas, is secretary of the Lawrence Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., vice-pole march of *Mu Chapter* of the *Kappa Alpha Psi* fraternity, and president of *Theta Chapter* of the *Chi Delta Mu* fraternity. He is now completing his fourth year of service as preparator of gross anatomy, custodian and technician in the Anatomy Department of the university.

¶ At the annual convention of the International Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, held in Minneapolis, Mrs. W. F. Trotman, a colored woman of Brooklyn, N. Y., was unanimously elected Honorary Vice-President. Mrs. Trotman was the organizer of the Colored Big Sister Club of Brooklyn.

¶ *Epsilon Lambda Chapter* of the *Alpha Phi Alpha* fraternity, in St. Louis, maintains a scholarship at the University of Chicago for a worthy Negro graduate of the high school of St. Louis. Clobare Broussard is the present beneficiary and the scholarship is being offered for the second time. At a recent school election, five of the members of this fraternity served on the Citizens' Committee to help in the passage

The late Dr. Bourne | James G. Cotter | James M. French | William M. Randolph

of a measure which will bring into the treasury of the St. Louis School Board about $40,000,000 in the next four years. The president of the chapter is Mr. G. W. Buckner.

¶ Colored visitors to Atlantic City know the Bourne drug store on Arctic Avenue. Its founder, the late Dr. James F. Bourne, was born in Baltimore, and educated at Lincoln University, and the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy. For fourteen years he conducted his drug store and for nine years was a member of the Atlantic City Board of Education. At the time of his death he was president of the colored Y. M. C. A. and an organizer of the Building and Loan Association. He leaves a widow who will continue his business.

¶ James G. Cotter is Assistant United States District Attorney for the northern district of Illinois. Mr. Cotter was born in 1882, in Tennessee, and educated at Fisk University and the Webster College of Law. He was admitted to the Bar in 1912. For two years he was Assistant Attorney General of Illinois. His resignation was demanded by the Attorney General of the State because he opposed segregation plans of Governor Lowden; but his recent higher appointment has vindicated his stand.

¶ In the quiet town of Sandusky, Ohio, James M. French is the leading dealer in real estate. He was born and reared in the city and educated in the public schools. He has been in business for thirty years, and has administered the estates of some of the wealthiest people of the city as well as the affairs of the poorest. Mr. French is president of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P., a member of the City Board of Charities, treasurer of the white Congregational church, and council member of the Chamber of Commerce.

¶ From 1909 to 1914, William M. Randolph held the office of Assistant City Solicitor in Pittsburgh. He recently received re-appointment to this office, succeeding Mr. R. L. Vann. Mr. Randolph was educated in the public schools of New York City and graduated from the law school of the University of New York in 1888.

¶ Marietta Bonner received the degree of *Bachelor of Arts* from Radcliffe College with honors last June. The entire program given by the seniors on Class Day was comprised of music written by Miss Bonner and in-

ERNEST D. COOKE

Marietta Bonner | The late Miss Haynes | Ella Jane Carter | Mrs. Mamie Lee

cluded the two college songs which won the annual competition in her freshman and senior years. Her last song was pronounced by the Harvard professors, who were the judges, as "A magnificent piece of refreshing music." Miss Bonner belongs to the *Delta Sigma Theta*.

¶ In the death of Byrdie H. Haynes, sister of Dr. George E. Haynes, we lose an efficient social worker. Miss Haynes was born in 1886, in Arkansas, and educated at Fisk University. She was awarded a Rosenwald scholarship and began work as headworker in the Wendell Phillips Settlement, Chicago, affiliated with Hull House, where she was under the supervision of Jane Addams. She then went to Lincoln House, New York, under Miss Lillian D. Wald, and for six years built up a work of wide influence. Finally she was called to the colored Y. W. C. A. in New York as Secretary of Girls' Work, and was planning to begin her new duties in September when she died of heart failure after an operation. She was a singularly devoted woman of fine spirit.

¶ Ella Jane Carter was born in Mississippi and studied at the Piney Woods School. She then entered the Iowa State Teachers' College, at Cedar Falls, where she spent four years studying public school music. Miss Carter was graduated last spring and returns to supervise public school music in the Piney Woods School.

¶ The people of Spokane, Washington, bear tribute to the ability of Mrs. Mamie Lee, a local artist. She specializes in works of oil, parchment and water colors and her paintings have repeatedly won prizes. She is a former student of Mrs. Harriet Annette Perry, who is now conducting a studio in Hollywood, Cal.

DR. I. L. ROBERTS

¶ In the Washington Drive of the N. A. A. C. P., employees in the office of the National Benefit Life Insurance Company secured 94 members, outside of the efforts of many employees who worked with other groups.

¶ Robert M. Williams has received the degree of *Bachelor of Arts* at Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa.

¶ The second session of the National Congress of Africans of British West Africa will convene in Sierra Leone during December.

¶ At DePauw University, the course in journalism has issued a pamphlet on the "History and Present Day Conditions of

Negro Journalism". The pamphlet was prepared by George W. Gore, Jr., who is a senior at the university and a member of the *Alpha Phi Alpha* fraternity.

¶ Joseph L. Turner has been granted a scholarship to study for one year at the Paris Conservatory of Music. Mr. Turner has been a student of the piano at the New England Conservatory of Music for three years, under Mr. Frank Watson. He formerly attended Morehouse College.

¶ The People's Building and Loan Association of Hampton, Virginia, was organized in 1889 by the Rev. R. Spiller, Mr. F. D. Banks, J. H. Robinson, A. W. E. Bassett. The late Harris Barret was secretary and the real worker. During the 32 years of the existence of the association a dividend of not less than 6% has been paid except during the two years of the war. Last year the assets amounted to $271,315.

HOMES BUILT BY THE

¶ One of the special features of Hampton Institute's 54th anniversary was the presentation of Armstrong Field by graduates and former students of the Board of Trustees. The Field was formally opened for use on May 20, with the first inter-collegiate track and field meet ever held at Hampton. More than a hundred athletes, representing colleges, high schools, and Y.

AT THE ATHLETIC MEET,

PEOPLE'S BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

M. C. A.s, competed in twenty-seven events. Two special attractions at the meet were the running of R. Earl Johnson, holder of the five- and ten-mile championships of the A. A. U., who ran in the two-mile race; and of William S. Parker, Hampton '15, who has won the Metropolitan Championship for the half-mile.

¶ From February 17 to August 1, of this year, there were 24 persons lynched in the United States. One of these persons was white. Eleven of these lynchings took place in Texas; 6 in Georgia; 2 in Arkansas; and one each in Mississippi, Oklahoma, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Florida.

¶ Douglas Carter of California has signed a long-term contract with the Selznick film corporation. Mr. Carter plays an important part in Owen Moore's recent picture, "Love is an Awful Thing". The New York *Telegraph* says: "Like many of his race, Carter is an 'unconscious comedian' . . . On the Coast they think he will prove another Bert Williams."

¶ The National Baptist Convention, Inc., will meet in Los Angeles, Cal., September 6-11.

¶ The National Baptist Convention, Unincorporated, will meet in Nashville, Tenn., September 6-12. Special railroad rates have been granted.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE

The Looking Glass

THE PERFECT TIMES

WHEN shall a newspaper advertise to its readers the race of a man whom it mentions? According to the *New York Times* and in reference to Negroes at least, the race should be emphasized and given the most prominent headlines if it is a matter of ridicule or crime but in the case of a heroic deed, search for the race!

For instance, on July 7, a hod carrier in his auto is fined for speeding. It is very necessary to announce that this hod carrier is a "Negro" and to box the information at the top of the page! On June 28, the police beat a prisoner to death. It must be explained in large letters that the dead man is "A Negro Thug".

Negro Hodcarrier, Speeding To Work in His Auto, Arrested

New York *Times*, July 7, 1922.

NEGRO THUG KILLED IN FIGHT AT STATION

Seizes Pistol and Loses Desperate Battle Only When Clubbed Unconscious.

POLICEMEN EXONERATED

Acted in Self-Defense, Officials Rule —Liquor Held Principal Cause of Man's Death.

New York *Times*, June 28, 1922.

But on July 7, a colored man, superintendent of an apartment house, offered his life to save a woman and child. The *Times* report says:

While Sanford and Mrs. Gordon struggled at the window, the fire spread. Flames ran along the mattress and caught on the curtain of the window at which they stood. The superintendent was using all his strength to hold Mrs. Gordon against the side of the window frame while he attempted to quiet her. A fold of the blazing curtain fell across the man's extended right forearm. The whole blazing mass looked as though it would fall upon them when he momentarily released the hold of one of his hands on Mrs. Gordon and quickly reached up and dragged the burning cloth down. At that instant Mrs. Gordon tore herself free.

In the few seconds while Sanford was freeing himself from the burning curtain, the woman managed to get her body through the open window. Then she threw herself headlong to the ground.

Sanford tried to go back through the door, but he had to give up the attempt. Between him and the doorway was a curtain of fire through which he could not fight a way. Those watching saw him return to the window and stand there, apparently uncertain as to his next move. Again the chorus went up for him not to jump. "Help will soon be here," they cried, and those who could not command a view of what had happened took up the cries.

From the window at which he stood a clothesline had been stretched to another window in the same apartment. It bridged a space of about twenty feet. Sanford climbed out of the window, tested the line and then grasping it with both hands, swung out. One of his arms had been pretty badly burned and he apparently could not make his way across the line. There was quiet at every window as the superintendent began to swing his body back and forth. Then, in his own words, he took a chance and did the unexpected. As his body swung back he let go his hold and dropped. The momentum carried him straight through the open window of the room in the apartment below.

. . . . . .

Sanford landed in a heap in the apartment of Mrs. W. R. Borden. He picked himself up and running back upstairs to the Gordon apartment, began to fight the flames, carrying pan after pan of water from the kitchen and pouring it on the fire. He had made some progress when the firemen got there. Then he went to St. Luke's Hospital.

Sanford, after being treated in St. Luke's

hospital, went home, and last evening half the neighborhood had called to congratulate him on the brave effort he had made to save Mrs. Gordon and the baby.

Was it necessary to announce in the headlines that this hero was black? Apparently not. Indeed in a whole column of report only once, and in small print, was Sanford called "negro." Suppose he had stolen Mrs. Gordon's pocket-book!

FIRE-MAD, SHE HURLS BABY FOUR STORIES

Mother Fights Off Rescuer and Plunges From Window After Child as Scores Look On.

DARING DROP SAVES ONE

Trapped Firefighter Leaps to Clothes Line and Swings Into a Lower Window.

New York *Times*, July 7, 1922.

HENRY FORD ON RACES

HENRY FORD has sinned so outrageously in his Anti-Jewish campaign that it is a joy to note signs of sanity in his treatment of race problems in general. He says on "Mr. Ford's Page" of the *Dearborn Independent*:

We have scarcely met the racial problem in America at all. The talk about the "color line" is largely personal and local, and does not take in the full sweep of the question. Upon this country has fallen the high task, not of showing, as some assert, that all the races can live together upon one plane and in one community, but of showing which races can live together, and under what law all races can live prosperously.

. . . . . .

Some of the divisions which we may think are racially alien may not be so at all. The accidents of color, in some cases, may not be indicative of racial differences. There may be a wider unity than we have supposed, and our false suppositions may be due to the incomplete state of human knowledge about the beginnings and wanderings of races.

. . . . . .

The whole matter is to be considered broadly. Even among the races called "inferior" (there ought to be a better word) individuals appear who are the equal of superior individuals of the dominant race, who stand as prophets between the peoples. Dominance does not mean at all the dominance of individuals, but of the racial movement and meaning and work. There is no room for pride at all; there is wide room for serious consideration of duty.

A mushy sentimentality, a "brotherhood" of words which does not emerge in action—these are not necessary at all. What we need is to see that one strain is equipped to do for the other what it cannot do for itself, and set it upon the road of living a life which fulfills its destiny; and the strain equipped to do this must do it, or suffer the consequences of neglected duty. These consequences usually come through the reactions of the very people whose welfare has been destroyed for gains of our own. There is something deeper in race riots than the mere clash of color.

THE CLOSED DOOR

IN the Altoona, Pa., *Tribune* Colonel H. W. Shoemaker has an editorial on a colored porter at the Pennsylvania Station at Harrisburg who has just been retired. He says:

Patrons of the Pennsylvania Railroad Station at Harrisburg were greatly disappointed to learn that W. H. Coslow, Red Cap Porter "Number One," is to retire on age limit the last day of the present month. During thirty-five years of faithful service this old-time employee has endeared himself to hosts of travelers by his unvarying courtesy and marked efficiency.

As an exponent of the "drive" begun years ago by the Pennsylvania Railroad System to require courtesy from its employees, and, by the way, the pioneer attempt of this kind in the United States, Porter Coslow has been a shining example of splendid politeness and kindliness. Patrons, old and young, rich or poor, regardless of the possible "gratuity," have found him ready to carry the heaviest burdens and straighten out the most complicated intricacies of travel.

Members of the old families at Harrisburg will miss him, as he has waited on three generations in many instances, and travelers have grown up from childhood to look for his genial presence to put them aboard the right trains. As one traveler

remarked, "It is a pity that such persons have to get old; men like Coslow ought not to be subject to limits of service or age, but should be immortal, like all worthy institutions."

Porter "Number One" was born at Dillsburg, York County, January 27, 1857, and was married April 11, 1875, and has nine living children, as well as numerous grandchildren. He entered the employ of the Pennsylvania Railroad, under Superintendent Oliver A. McClellan, November 9, 1887, later serving under Superintendents Creighton and Le Boutillier.

Of course, Colonel Shoemaker leaves out the real tragedy in Coslow's life. In the "greatest railway system of the world" here was a man who had served faithfully for 35 years and yet could hope for no promotion. He entered the service in 1887 as a porter. He left in 1922 as a porter. If he had been a white man, he might have been president of the road and certainly if half that is said about him is true, he deserved something far above this position.

BENEVOLENCE IN RHODESIA

A MISSIONARY writes concerning the heavy taxation of natives in Northern Rhodesia. The letter is printed in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

I fully agree with all that Mr. ——— says about the present condition of the natives. I will go further and say, that the raising of the so-called hut tax (it is a tax on every wife) from 5s. to 10s. per year is simply to make these people slaves of the B.S.A. Co.* These people are taxed, but they get no benefit from taxation. There are no Government doctors, schoolmasters, sanitary inspectors, nurses, etc., for helping them. Lepers and people with yaws are scattered all over the country, and mad people roam at leisure, whilst many of the poor, without relatives, are almost nude and starved. The men being away from home so much have little time to build their houses, as their spare time is required in the plantations, so that majority of the huts are in a most dilapidated condition, and the villages are filthier than they were before the B.S.A. Co. came here, and the people are poorer, as of old they had time to prepare bark cloth, weave blankets, and build good huts, and cultivate large gardens, so that they were never so short of food as they are now. Besides this, they could go hunting and kill plenty of game, and have meat to eat, and the skins to wear. Now it is, perhaps, once or twice a year only that they get a piece of meat. I notice also that the stamina of the people has decreased greatly, so that there is much more sickness than there used to be, and they can't do as much work as formerly. Apart from preventing tribal wars, I don't know that the B.S.A. Co.'s rule over these people is of much benefit to them. No wonder that many natives have said they paid taxes to buy the Government officials whiskey and cigarettes. . . . Yes, the condition of the natives in these parts is very sad, and something should be done to help them, and that at once. If the present condition of things exists much longer, there will be much immorality and discontent.

*British South African Company.

This makes the words of Alfred Baker Lewis published in the *New York Call* magazine all the more opposite:

Of course the inhabitants of backward regions do get certain incidental advantages from being governed by an advanced nation, such as the establishment of a certain amount of law and order. These incidental advantages are seized upon and made much of by the spokesmen of the governments of industrially advanced nations in the process of moralizing the exploitation of the backward peoples of the earth by certain classes in the industrially advanced nations. But the incidental advantages that the inhabitants of the backward regions get in this way are, in fact, at least equalled by the disadvantages.

The chief disadvantage from which they suffer is the brutality with which they are treated by those who govern them and exploit them without their consent, and also claim to bring them the blessings of civilization. As recent examples of the brutality with which the advanced nations are accustomed to treat the inhabitants of the backward regions of the earth, we might cite the Amritsar Massacre of several hundred unarmed Hindus by the British in the Punjab, the record of the atrocities by the agents of the French and Belgian rubber companies in the Congo, the atrocities of the agents of the British rubber companies in Peru, the barefaced expropriation of the natives from their land in South Rhodesia; the thinly disguised slavery on the Portuguese cocoa plantations of Principe and San Thome, and the slave raids on the mainland of Angola; the forced labor to which the helpless natives are subjected by the United States in Haiti and by the French and Belgians in the Congo, and the overthrow of established native governments such as our invasion of Haiti, the British seizure of Egypt, and the French occupation of Morocco. Additional eloquent proof of the industrially advanced nations in getting control of the backward and undeveloped regions is to exploit them rather than to bring them the blessings of civilization, is found in the almost universal absence of labor legislation and universal compulsory education in those backward regions which the governments of the industrially advanced nations get under their control.

. . . . . .

In other words, the "White Man's Burden" involved in governing backward coun-

tries and exploiting their populations and natural resources is a Godsend to those in the "burdened" countries who are rich enough to make investments, and a burden principally to the working classes of the advanced countries and the populations of the backward regions.

JUSTICE AND ORATORY

WE commend to our readers this delicious extract from the Wilmington, N. C., *Dispatch:*

Counsel for the several Negro bell hops whose arrest on charges of violating the prohibition law and aiding and abetting in prostitution were affected through the efforts of two Raleigh men, Lumsden and Brandon, representing the Southern Detective Agency, will endeavor to have the detectives indicted by the grand jury at next week's term of criminal court on charges of receiving more liquor than is allowed by law within a specified length of time. Both admitted on the witness stand that they were "technically" guilty of violating the law but are expected to contend, if bills are returned against them, that the end justified the means.

Another interesting situation has also developed in connection with the arrest of the bell hops. Mrs. A. O. Ausley and Mrs M. L. Johnson, well dressed white women who were guests at local hotels and who were taken in the general round up on charges of assignation, were given not guilty verdicts in Judge Harriss' court yesterday afternoon.

Several of the bell hops are charged with aiding and abetting the women in a violation of the law that the court, through its judgment, says was not committed and it's mighty hard for the average man to understand how one could be guilty of aiding and abetting in a crime that was not committed. Lawyers, however, can best interpret the law and Solicitor McNorton, one of the most capable members of the local bar, says it will be easy enough to get convictions even though the lower court freed the principals through its rendition of not guilty verdicts.

At any rate, next week's session of superior court promises to be plenty warm. Herbert McClammy, dean of oratory of the local bar, was keyed to a million yesterday afternoon when he prepared to speak in defense of his clients, the two women, and the crowd had settled back expecting to hear him rip and tear the hide off the two detectives who engineered the arrests of the women and bell hops. Judge Harriss also anticipated the same thing and before Mr. McClammy opened up he was advised by the court that the two men had been obliged to leave town on urgent business and that it would be unfair to go after them in their absence. Instead he suggested that the lawyer read aloud a touching appeal for the fallen women, written by an unknown author but a gem in every respect. While Mr. McClammy read, his voice rising and falling in expression, one could have heard a pin crash to the floor, so quiet was the court room.

Do not forget that while the court freed the drunken detectives and wept with the prostitutes, it is probably going to be "easy" to convict the colored bell boys who were ordered to serve them with liquor and carried out their orders.

THE SERPENT IN EDEN

A BRAVE little student publication *The Oberlin Critic* deplores the entrance of prejudice into this midwestern college:

Oberlin is falling short of the standard set by her founders and by the men who opened her doors to the colored races. Year after year the barrier is made stronger and higher—year after year voices are raised in protest against the admission of colored students into rooming houses, into clubs and societies, almost into the college itself—year after year the percentage of colored students grows smaller and less intelligent. Why?

During the war the government refused to allow Negro men to enter the S. A. T. C. on an equality with the white men—orders were received here to that effect. Did the college protest? Yes, but feebly, for the order went through, to the shame of the authorities here and in Washington; and with the order there went through the Negro ranks a wave of hatred against Oberlin, against the college that once threw off restraint to indulge in a Wellington riot, and whose very history is a history of race-equality.

* * *

Here is the old story of outsiders trying to upset the *status quo*:

Every girl knows before she enters Oberlin that racial equality is *supposed* to be the rule, and if she objects to it, her decision as to a college to attend should be governed accordingly. It is true that it is the minority who object, but a minority increasing so steadily as to alarm the antediluvian ideals of some of us.

Why should this condition continue? It is not confined to the Negro alone—an otherwise intelligent and charming white girl is known to have stigmatized two Korean girls by audibly calling them "chimpanzees," and another refused to go on the street in Cleveland with a Chinese girl for fear people would think her queer. They all are suffering because we forget Oberlin's traditions. Shaw says, "We must be conventional or we are misunderstood," and Oberlin calls its darker hued seekers after Truth by opprobrious names, and attempts to kill in them the human feeling and racial sympathy, which is rightly theirs, and Oberlin's.

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Elbert Hubbard, in "A Little Journey to Tuskegee."

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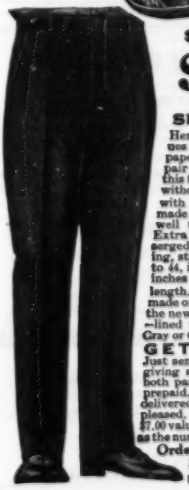

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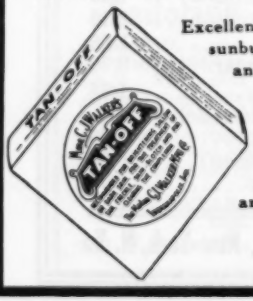

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